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15 November 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR: Acting Chief, SB/S/CA

SUBJECT:

An Attack Against the Soviet Policy in the Ukraine Made in a Memorandum Sent by Ivan DZYUBA to SHELEST and SHCHERBYTSKIY

1. The subject memorandum, the title of which is Internationalism or Russification, consisting of a total of 239 pages, analyzes the Leninist nationalities policy and attacks the present Soviet policy in the Ukraine, outlining its demographic, cultural, economic and political aspects. A large part of the memorandum is devoted to a historical analysis. The memorandum, along with a letter of protest, was sent by literary critic, Ivan DZYUBA, to P. Yu. SHELEST, 1st Secretary of the CC, CPU, member of the Presidium CC CPSU, and to V. V. SHCHERBYTSKIY, Chairman of the Council of Ministers UkSSR, candidate member of the Presidium CC CPSU. To date, DZYUBA has received no reply. Soviet Ukrainian intellectual circles are familiar with the memorandum. It was seen by at least 3 Western travellers while they were in the Ukraine (a Canadian citizen and two French citizens) and by a Czech citizen of Ukrainian background. A copy of the document was recently brought out to Czechoslovakia by a Czech who studied in Kiev and it is expected this cony will soon be obtained by AECASSOWARY/2. Following is a resume of the document.

2. In late August and early September 1965, there were arrests and interrogations in Kiev, Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, Tarnopol and Lutsk. An appeal by Mykhaylo STEL'MAKH, Andrei MALYSHKO and Hryhoriy MAYBORODA remained unanswered. The recent new appeal by a group of the intelligentsia, including Oleg ANTONOV, Serhiy PARADZHANOV, Vitali KAREYKO, Platon MAYBORODA, Leonid SERPILIN, Lena KOSTENKO, and Ivan DRACH, in which an explanation is requested for the cause of the arrests also remained unanswered. The searching of homes and arrests continue. There exists an abnormal and detestable atmosphere. The following have been arrested: Ivan SVITLYCHNYY, Bohdan and Mykola HORYN', Mykhaylo KOSÍV, Panas ZALYVAKHA, Mykola HRYN' (student at the Geophysics Institute), Ivan RUSYN (geophysicist), Oleksandr MARCHENKO, Yaroslav HEVRYCH (student). There have been no announcements concerning the reasons for the arrests. There are only allusions to a nationalist underground, discovery of a center, finding of arms and an underground printing press. and rancour against "netionalists." Only adequate publicity will guarantee justice. There has been a complete deviation from scientific principles of communist national development.

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Dozens of individuals have been punished by being discharged from their positions and from higher schools of learning. Only recently:

a. M. KHOLODNYY was expelled, contrary to the decision of the Komsomel assembly, from the fifth semester for his views expressed during the debate on the novel Verbivchany by A. Ishchuk.

b. Rita DOVHAS', employee of the newspaper <u>Druh</u>
Chytacha (Friend of the Reader) was expelled from the <u>Party</u>
and relieved of her job for allegedly organizing a poetry
reading at the Scientific Research Institute on 8 Docember 1965.

c. Clubs of Creative Youth have been disbanded.

d. Disturbances at the Lesya Ukrainka celebration at the Institute of the Academy of Sciences on 31 July 1963.

e. The Shevchenko stained glass window at the Kiev University was destroyed in March 1964 and young artists incited against.

f. A meeting at the Shevchenko Monument in Kiev on 22 May 1964 was prohibited and there were subsequent punishments.

g. The Shevchenko evening planned at the plant of automatic benches in March 1965 was prohibited.

h. Several dozen young journalists, graduates of Kiev State University, were punished for having signed a protest against the unjustified discharge of Docent M. M. SHESTOPAL for "nationalist activities" in the spring of 1965.

i. The arrest of several hundred young men for participating in the debate on the problems of Ukrainian culture.

There has also been a story about "American dollars." It is mandatory for some thinking to be done regarding the cause of all these events. There is great anxiety which is the unavoidable result of serious trespasses against the Leninist nationalities policy, to be more precise, of the complete distortion of the Leninist nationalities policy implemented in the 1930's by Stalin and continued by Khrushchev.

3. Internationalism or Russification? (There was no summary of this portion made available to me as yet.)

C SB/S/CA

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